1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

On the uninhabited island of Ei Ao Mr. Linton gathered unmistakable evidences of the industry of making stone adzes, and he was told that the people of Nuku Hiva used to go to Ei Ao to make stone axes because the best material for that purpose was found there. I was told in Ua Huka that people of Hiva Oa used to make voyages to Nuku Hiva to purchase stone axes. Nuku Hiva appears also to have been visited by parties from Hiva Oa in search of the *ena* root used for dyeing the body. Ua Huka was noted for its poi pounders, inhabitants from Hiva Oa coming to that island especially to obtain them. Porpoise-tooth crowns were exclusively the product of Ua Pou, where porpoises were either more common or perhaps for certain natural reasons easier to catch than anywhere else. It seems that these crowns were sent particularly to Tahu Ata and Hiva Oa from there. Mrs. Handy has shown in her monograph on tattooing that designs were transferred from one section of the group to the other, from the south to the north. Experts in this art went from one section to the other to practice or to learn the art. Garcia (14) says, with regard to commerce, that in each island and in each valley there was some special work in which the locality excelled. He says (p. 51):

> There follows a small commerce between these different tribes and different islands of the same archipelago. Curiosities of one bay, of one island, are purchased with the wealth and products of another island and another bay.

As shown by the legends the natives had a knowledge of all the sections of their group, in other words, a geographical knowledge not confined to localities on their own islands only. Many of these legends are without a doubt definite records of journeys. The stores of Ono, Tana-oa, and Pou-maka, though all probably purely legendary in origin, are proof that to the natives of the Marquesas their group was a geographical unit. In each one of these stories the hero is described as making a circuit of the group. One story recounts the visit to Ua Pou of Tika'ue, a man from Hiva Oa. A voyage from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva is related in the story of Fatu-a-nono. The story of Putio has in it the record of journeying from Hiva Oa to Ua Huka and back, around various parts of Hiva Oa, and to Fatu Hiva and back. Various other legends—as for example those of Kena and Kae—described heroes as travelling extensively within Hiva Oa.

The description about to be given of the tribal and political situation in the various islands will present a number of examples of tribes going from one valley to another on the same island and from one island to another. An example of travel on the same island is that of the Papua-ei in Hiva Oa, who were forced to go from the valley of Eia-one to one of the upper sub-valleys of Vevau. The flight of the Na-iki to Tahu Ata when

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly under the wall for one-half of its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

INDUSTRY

The major industries of the Marquesas included the erection of platforms and houses, canoe building, fishing, planting and harvesting. These were the peace-time activities, requiring the participation of communal labor under the direction of organizers and skilled leaders. What may be characterized as the minor industries are those in the especial province of the women, particularly mat and cloth making and those home industries such as the making of weapons and utensils, that were practiced as private employment by men. The arts and minor crafts, practiced as a means of livelihood by professionals, consisted in tattooing, the making of ornaments, drum making, the making of string figures and lashings, and in the decoration of canoes and houses, in various ways such as with ornamental sennit or carving.

THE TERMS HANA AND TUHUNA

The word *hana* is used freely in the Marquesas to signify work, industries, and the like: for example, *hana ava-ika* indicates the whole industry of fishing, *te tau hana enata,* meaning all the native arts and crafts. *Tuhuna* signified one who was a proved expert in any phase of activity, mental or physical. A *tuhuna* was an expert, a master, a director in enterprise, or one of great learning. If a native's admiration is excited by anything that one does—and nothing excites their admiration more than skill or cleverness—he will say, *tuhuna oe;* you are a *tuhuna.* The terms for various kinds of *tuhuna* do not indicate that there was in each tribe a professional who devoted all his time to one of these activities. One person might be a *tuhuna* in a number of branches of learning or activity. And *tuhuna* did not necessarily mean a professional; although it usually did, since one who came to be recognized as a *tuhuna* would undoubtedly have been called upon to practice as a professional and would thus have gained in wealth and prestige. *Tuhuna nui,* meaning great *tuhuna,* was applied to one especially skilled in his profession, one who occupied the position of director among other skilled workers, as, for example, the chief fisherman, but particularly to one who had all-around skill and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 knowledge, one who was learned in many ways. There was no organized associations of *tuhuna*, such as that of the priestly orders in Hawaii.

Following is a list, not to be regarded as complete, however, of the different kinds of *tuhuna*:

TUHUNA HAKATU FA'E or TUHUKA ATU HA'E. Master housebuilder; the same as TUHUNA HAKATU PAEPAE, or TUHUKA UPEUPE PAEPAE, master platform builder.
" TEKAI KE'A. Stone cutter, one skilled in cutting stones for platforms, houses, sacred places, and feast places.
" UA MA. Digger of *ma* pits.
" PEHE. Professional skilled in making string figures and applying them in decoration such as ornamental sennit designs.
" HA'A TIKI TIKI. Skilled wood carver.
" KEANA MOENA. Skilled mat maker.
" TEKAI KE'A TUKI POPOI. Maker of *popoi* pounders.
" KO'OKA. Maker of *popoi* dishes.
" A'AKA PAHU. Drum maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI VAKA. Master canoe builder.
" TA'AI TIKI. Image maker.
" TA'AI or TEKAI PAPA, or TUHUKA TAO Coffin maker.
" TITI OUOHO. Maker of hair ornaments.
" TA'AI TOKOTOKO PIO'O. Staff maker.
" TUTU TAPA, or TUTU KAHU. Skilled cloth maker.
" A'AKA TAHI'I. Fan maker.
" HANA PA'A KEA. Maker of tortoise-shell crowns.
" PU TAIANA. Maker of *pu taiana* ear ornaments.
" TEHE. He who cut the foreskin.
" FAINU, TUHUNA APAU or TUHUKA HAIKA. Doctor.
" NATI KAHA. One skilled in witchcraft.
" PATU TIKI. Master tattooer.
" AVA-IKA. Master fisher.
" UPENA. Master netmaker, the same as the TUHUNA AVA-IKA.
" HA'AKEKAI. One learned in legends.
" MATA TETAU. One learned in genealogies.
" PU'E. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *pu'e*.
VAVANA. Ceremonial priest who taught and chanted the *vavana*.
" O'ONO. Ceremonial priest skilled in the last four named branches of learning.
" NATO. He who composed *nato* chants. (Similarly with other kinds of chants: TUHUNA POPE, TUHUNA RARI, etc. See Chants.)

WAYS OF BECOMING A *TUHUNA*

There were two ways by which a man or a woman could become a *tuhuna*: first, by having the knowledge requisite passed on by a father or mother, uncle or aunt or other relative—what may be termed by inheritance or the normal and simplest form of apprenticeship; secondly, by employing a recognized professional as teacher or by being employed by such as an assistant. If an individual possessed the capacity for learning and could acquire the skill requisite for the work of a *tuhuna*, he gradually worked through a sort of informal apprenticeship. In the art of tat-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tooing, a master tattooer taught his son the art if he showed the ability and desired to follow the profession; but he likewise taught others who came to him and served an apprenticeship as assistants in the tattooing operations. An old woman still living on the island of Fata Hiva, who is today recognized as a *tuhuna ha'akekai,* acquired her knowledge of legends and chants from her mother who built a special, consecrated house (*oho au*) in which to teach her daughter. This woman's mother had similarly become a *tuhuna ha'akekai* by being taught by her mother. The woman now living also built an *oho au* for the purpose of teaching her daughter but the girl was too stupid and would not learn. In other words, this is an example of direct family inheritance of this type of learning in the female line. I know of a male *tuhuna* that passed on his learning to his granddaughter, and of still another who passed it on to a niece and her husband. The only living tattooing artist (*tuhuna patu tiki*) now in the Marquesas, a very old man, whose designs are still to be seen on a number of natives, learned his art by becoming apprenticed to a man to whom he was related. The old man himself told me, however, that the art of tattooing was most commonly inherited in the male line from father to son, but that it could also be practiced by any man who had the talent to learn the designs by observation and to become proficient as an apprentice, whose duty it was to assist the tattooing master in the operation. When the master tattooer was convinced that such an apprentice had demonstrated his proficiency, the apprentice himself was accepted as a *tuhuna.* That is, I say, there was a tendency toward direct inheritance but no fixed rule regarding it and no restriction of knowledge to particular families.

463 ●

TUHUNA AS A CLASS

Food, cloth, ornaments, and the like, were given to *tuhuna* as payment for the practice of their profession and for their labor. The wealth thus acquired by the *tuhuna* and the prestige that their knowledge and skill gave them, brought it about that they constituted virtually a class by themselves. As a class they had very definite ceremonial and political functions. In the rites of major importance the *tuhuna* furnished from their ranks the choruses of old men who intoned the sacred chants. As the wise old men of the tribe the *tuhuna* served a very definite function in tribal matters as political advisors. It has been pointed out in the discussion of the social order that there were especial *tuhuna* whose whole function consisted in being executives of the chief. *Tuhuna* did not go to war, but were men who had served as warriors in their younger days. The *tuhuna* who ranked above all others and who served the most important tribal function was the *tuhuna o'ono,* master chanter, tribal bard, or cere-

463 [465] 565

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

463 565 monial priest, who presided in all important ritual, and served as repository and teacher of sacred and traditional lore. This *tuhuna* is discussed in connection with the rites in which he functioned. There seems to have been no particular dress or insignia that distinguished *tuhuna* as a class in every day life, although they wore a special ceremonial dress at the time of rites, as did others taking part. This dress will be described in connection with these rites.

CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF ALL INDUSTRY

461 464 Before entering upon the detailed description of the different types of work, it may be well to summarize the main features that characterized enterprise of every kind. In the first place anyone who was employing others to do work for him was expected to feed his employees during the time of the labor, as well as to pay them. If it were a large undertaking the directors and experts and their assistants were both fed and housed during the whole time of the labor.

461 784 All work was consecrated, *tapu,* for the reason that its successful accomplishment required the shutting out of any contaminating influences. The *tapu* on workers and places of work may be compared to the prophylactic precautions of medical practice—these *tapu* in the Marquesas were to guard the product of the work from evil spiritual influences. The building of special houses for the accomplishment of all work and consecration of the precincts were to insure freedom from contaminating influences. These special houses were of different forms which are described in connection with the various enterprises. Regarded from a practical point of view they were shelters that protected the workers and their work from the elements. Before beginning work all those who were to take part had to purify themselves, to insure that no evil influences would be brought to the work. The evil influences that had to be guarded against were mostly those associated with womankind, the contamination connected with the reproductive functions of woman; and evil spirits that were supposed to associate themselves with females. Persons and things that had been associated with consecrated labor were regarded as sacred. Before such persons could return to common activities, such as eating and sexual life, they had to be relieved of the sacred influence by bathing or by a chant. And things, such as the sacred houses, that had been associated with the work had to be destroyed by burning.

461 [187] There were omens prophetic of the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of labor, but modern informants know little about them, as omens were a part of the knowledge of *tuhuna* and were restricted to them. Especial deities presided over every type of activity. Chants and spells

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

285 hold occupation in the Marquesas. The only baskets used were made of coconut leaf. *Kete* was a general term for bakets; Dordillon (8) gives also *ki'e ki'e* and *puru* [Tahitian, probably] as the term used for a small basket made of coconut leaves.

322 Other minor industries, which occupied the spare time of natives at home, were the making of bowls, weapons, implements, and ornaments, and the decoration of them by carving. Experts (*tuhuna*) who were skilled at these industries devoted themselves to them as professions. But families depended mostly on those in the household who were apt at such work. The work was always done on or under the sacred stone house (*fata'a*), which was *tapu*. A full description of the processes and products of these industries will be found in Linton's study of the material culture (20).

FISHING

226 463 All the professional fishermen were called *ava-ika*. Such professionals did not go to war, hence they were little honored in the tribe. The chief fisherman who directed operations and performed the ceremonial was known by several titles, *tuhuna ava-ika, ava-ika ke'i* (*ke'i*, great), *ava-ika nui* (*nui*, great). The natives of Atu Ona say that the fishermen in the old days lived continuously in the fishing precincts, but informants elsewhere say that the fisherman dwelt there only at the times of fishing—a statement that seems more likely to be true.

226 778 Fishermen's sacred precincts (*taha tapu na te ava-ika*) belonging to the larger tribal units were found in all sections of the group. They were, of course, always near the sea at some good landing place, which meant usually a beach. In some places the fishermen lived in a single house on a large platform. My information is that at Atu Ona the sleeping houses were small huts elevated on posts, the fishermen sleeping four in a house. Mr. Linton was told that the houses themselves were on the ground, but that the beds in which the fishermen slept were on posts. As to whether the precincts were marked off by any permanent enclosing fence or wall, I have no information, but I doubt it for the reason that mention of such never came out in discussion of these places, and because permanent enclosing fences or walls around restricted areas seem not to have been common in the Marquesas. Every such sacred precinct was named[7]. Thus the sacred places at both Ta'a Oa and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, were named Mahia. This seems to be not a general term, but a matter of coincidence. Besides the sleeping places for the fishermen and their cook house, there were also in the precincts sheds for the canoes, a house for the nets and

[552]

[7] The names of a number of these sacred precincts in the Marquesas will be published in a subsequent paper.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

kava, and Melville speaks of the small portions of food that were pushed under the curtain by unseen hands to the *tapu* patients within the apartments, the restriction in food being intended to reduce the blood and so diminish inflammation; Langsdorff reports that the patient must drink very little for fear of inflammation, and must not eat early in the morning.

The work was performed by *tuhuna patu tiki* (*patu*, to mark or strike; *tiki*, designs), artists, evidently trained in the school of experience, some of them coming to enjoy great vogue on more than one island. Although Garcia states that the office was hereditary, each great family having its family of tattooers trained from generation to generation for its use, nothing of the sort can be traced today. According to modern informants, skill alone was qualification for practice and requisite for patronage. Langsdorff tells of novices who, for practice, operated upon poor people at very small charge, and Melville reports even the hiring of "vile fellows" as models on whom they could practice.

All present-day information denies Melville's statement that there were orders of tattooing artists. It is more likely that there were itinerant members of the profession, as he states. All seem to have practiced quite independently, although there was probably the kind of bond between them that followers of any profession feel. It is said in Ua Pou that there were different *tuhuna* for men and women because of the rule of *tapu* which ascribed to men greater sacredness than to women, but this was not true during the latter days of the art. No woman *tuhuna* was ever heard of. There were evidently contests between *tuhuna*, two or three working at the same time in an *oho'au*, attempting to excel one another in rapidity of execution and delicacy of designs. In the light of knowledge about the ancient native training in other artistic lines, it is possible to hazard the guess that to be accepted at all as a *tuhuna*, a thorough acquaintance with all the conventional units of the art was requisite; for, although individual *tuhuna* certainly varied and elaborated designs at will, yet they did not stray from the basic units.

A *tuhuna* was aided in his work by four or five assistants called *ou'a* (or *kou'a*—translated by Dordillon, pupil, disciple—meaning also shrimp). He was consulted as to the choice of designs, his decision apparently being usually accepted, although the *opou* was free to select his patterns. He outlined the designs upon the body with a piece of charcoal. But it was the *ou'a* who held the arms and legs of the patient, who stretched the skin to make a smooth surface upon which to work, who fanned the flies from the bleeding wounds, and who often, it is reported, filled in the outlined designs.

/26 cont./
rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.